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AUTHOR Passow, A. Harry
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ABSTRACT

The reported failure of urban schools has been well documented by various government commissions. To remedy this situation, quality and equality of education must be insured. Research and development on disadvantaged populations has increased in an effort to reverse the effects of traditional pedagogical methods. Numerous programs for early intervention show that changes can be effected but that these effects have little long-term stability. But that does not mean that compensatory education is not a promising method; rather, that adequate methods and understanding are still to come. Various strategies and models for improving urban education are compensatory education, desegregation, model subsystems, parallel systems, total systems reform, and new systems development. In addition, some programs attempt to change the student himself, his family, and the schools in new ways. College programs for disadvantaged youth try to prepare students for advanced study. The greatest policy problem is desegregation. Increase in federal aid raises the hope that urban education will receive not only more funds but also more attention. This paper was prepared for a book entitled "Urban Education in the 1970's," edited by A. Harry Passow, to be published by Teachers College Press, Fall 1970. [Not available in hard copy due to marginal legibility of the original document.] (JW)

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URBAN EDUCATION IN THE 1970'S

A. Harry Passow

Teachers College, Columbia University
New York, New York 10027

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Urban Education in the 1970's

A. Harry Passow
Teachers College, Columbia University

What is ahead for urban education in the 1970's? What will be the future of the ghetto and the slum in American cities and how will this affect and be affected by education? In what ways will education for urban populations--particularly the increasing portion designated as the "disadvantaged"--be reshaped and will changes result in substantial opening of opportunities for individuals from these groups? These are hard questions about which to speculate, especially in the light of events of the past decade.

In the early 1960's, as the civil rights movement and the war on poverty gathered momentum and as the post-sputnik concern for skilled manpower highlighted the inadequate development of talent among minority groups, Congress was on the threshold of new social legislation and one could be optimistic, despite the apparent complexities of the problems. A summer 1962 conference concerned with education in depressed areas concluded on this note: "The outlook is hopeful in the forces which are being mobilized to dissect and resolve this wasteful, destructive problem of displaced citizens in a rejecting and ignoring homeland." (Passow, 1963, p.351)

Since then, having spent billions of dollars on compensatory education, initiated thousands of projects (each with its own clever acronym title), completed hundreds of studies of uneven significance and even more disparate quality, entered numerous judicial decisions and rulings, experienced dozens of riots and disorders, and generated whole new agencies

and educational institutions, the nation's urban schools continue to operate in a vortex of segregation, alienation, and declining achievement.

Despite a considerable amount of rhetoric and numerous studies and reports, what has been called the "urban crisis" grows more intense in all its dimensions. The Kerner Commission probing for the causes of civil disorders, pointed to the interactions of a variety of factors--economic, political, health, welfare, education, justice, security--and warned: "None of us can escape the consequences of the continuing economic and social decay of the central city and the closely related problem of rural poverty." (National Advisory Committee on Civil Disorders, 1968, p.410) The Commission saw a continued movement toward two societies--one essentially white in the suburbs, small cities, and outlying districts, and the other largely non-white, located in the central cities--and declared that "we are well on the way to just such a divided nation."

While the concentration of the poor and the non-white populations continues in central cities, Downs asserts that "not one single significant program of any federal, state, or local government is aimed at altering this tendency or is likely to have the unintended effect of doing so." (Downs, 1968, p.1333) Preliminary data from the 1970 national census indicates that the greatest population growth has been in suburbia with the segregation of the poor and minority groups becoming even more intense in central cities. Black and other non-white migration to suburbia does appear to be increasing at a rate which seems to be exceeding earlier projections. An analyzis by Birch noted that the consequences of these population shifts "on the inner suburbs and, eventually, on the outer

suburbs, may be quite dramatic. Already inner suburb densities are approaching those of central cities, and increasingly this density growth is attributable to the poor and the Blacks." (Birch, 1970, p.)

The American city faces a fourfold dilemma: fewer tax dollars available as middle-income taxpayers move out and property values, business and commerce decline; more tax dollars needed for essential public services and facilities and for meeting the basic needs of low-income groups; increasing costs of goods and services resulting in dwindling tax dollars buying less; and increasing dissatisfactions with services provided as needs, expectations, and living standards increase. (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968, p.399) While it is possible to cite improvements in many aspects of urban life and development, the imperative needs call for far greater investments of our intellectual and financial resources. In the current crisis, education is part of the problem as well as part of the solution. Aside from the role of schools in developing "brainpower" and all that is entailed in those endeavors, education represents the means for creating the commitments and attitudes needed to grapple with the problems as well as the promise of our urban centers.

Urban Education in Trouble

Surveys of large city school systems continue to document the failures of the inner city schools confirming that they are, as the situation in Washington, D.C. was characterized, "in deep and probably worsening trouble." The District of Columbia Schools report, noting that the same findings would undoubtedly obtain in most large city systems, observed:

Applying the usual criteria of scholastic achievement as measured by holding power of the school, by college-going and further education, by post secondary school employment status, by performance on Armed Forces induction tests, the District schools do not measure up well. Like most school systems, the District has no measures on the extent to which schools are helping students attain other educational objectives, for there are no data on self-concepts, ego-development, values, attitudes, aspirations, citizenship and other "non-academic" but important aspects of personal growth. However, the inability of large numbers of children to reverse the spiral of futility and break out of the poverty-stricken ghettos suggests that the schools are no more successful in attaining these goals than they are in the more traditional objectives. (Passow, 1967, p.2)

The Urban Education Task Force cited as indicators of the challenge facing urban schools such facts as student unrest on secondary school and college campuses, groups seeking community control of neighborhood schools, teacher strikes, voter rejection of bond issues, court suits, lack of priority for education evidenced by state and local governments, and a sharp increase in alternative plans for schooling. Most important, however, is the conviction of large numbers of minority ethnic and racial groups that "they have been short-changed by their fellow American citizens--the white majority--who largely control the social, economic, political and educational institutions of our nation." (Urban Education Task Force, 1970, p.5)

After presenting "evidence which indicates the enormity of the failure of the urban public schools to educate the poor in the past and the present" Harvey Pressman argued that those concerned with educating the urban poor "cannot realistically rely on the public schools to do more than a disappointingly small fraction of the job at hand." (Pressman, 1966, p.62) And, gloomy observers, such as Jonothan Kozol, warned: "An ominous cloud hangs over the major cities of America: It is the danger that our ghetto schools, having long ceased to educate children entrusted to their care, will shortly cease to function altogether." (Kozol, 1970, p.28)

The Kerner Commission pointed to the failure of the ghetto schools to provide the kind and quality of education which would help overcome the effects of discrimination and deprivation as one of the festering sources of resentment and grievance in Black communities, contributing to increasing conflict and disruption. Moreover, the "bleak record of public education for ghetto children is growing worse. In the critical skills--verbal and reading ability--Negro students fall farther behind whites with each year of school completed." (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968, p.425)

Assessing the nation's response to the Kerner Commission Report one year later, the staffs of Urban America and the Urban Coalition concluded that "the indictment of failure passed on education in the slums and ghettos is just as valid and even more familiar." (Urban America and the Urban Coalition, 1970, p.33) However, the staffs felt that the ferment begun by the so-called Coleman Report (Equality of Educational Opportunity) and the Commission on Civil Rights study (Racial Isolation in the Public Schools)

and accelerated by the Kerner Commission Report had "increased to the point where it is rocking--in some instances, even toppling--the educational establishment."

The massive Coleman Report, 737-pages plus a 548-page supplemental appendix, represented the U.S. Commissioner of Education's compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964 provision for a survey on the "lack of availability of equal educational opportunities for individuals by reason of race, religion, or national origin in public educational institutions at all levels...." (U.S. Office of Education, 1966, p.iii) The Coleman Report yielded a rather bleak picture of widespread segregation of both students and staffs, of scholastic attainment of Black students substantially below that of white students, and with achievement disparaties becoming progressively greater with each year of schooling.

The "companion report" by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, involved some further analyses of Coleman data, some special studies for the Commission, and assessments of the effectiveness of a number of compensatory education programs in large cities. The Commission reported that in the metropolitan areas where two-thirds of the Black and white populations now live, school segregation was even more severe than for the nation as a whole: "In 15 large metropolitan areas in 1960, 79 percent of the nonwhite public school enrollment was in the central cities, while 68 percent of the white enrollment was suburban." (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967, p.3)

The Commission on Civil Rights rejected "number of years of schooling" as a meaningful measure of educational attainment. Coleman data on verbal ability and reading achievement indicated that "by the time 12th grade is

reached, the average white student performs at or slightly below the 12th-grade level, but the average Negro student performs below the 9th-grade level. Thus years of school completed has an entirely different meaning for Negroes and whites." (p.14) Moreover, while acknowledging that the 1950's had brought some economic progress to the Black population in absolute terms (i.e., higher income levels, greater college going rate, increased entrance to the professions and more skilled jobs) the relative change with respect either to whites or to more affluent Blacks was small. Most Blacks, the Commission concluded are still have-not Americans: "The closer the promise of equality seems to come, the further it slips away. In every American city today, most Negroes inhabit a world largely isolated from the affluence and mobility of mainstream America." (p.15) With some exception for the Oriental population, much the same picture could be detailed for other minority groups--the Puerto Ricans, the Mexican-Americans, the American Indians--and all poor groups, including whites. Socioeconomic differences in scholastic performance have been consistently significant. In 1968, it was estimated that twice as many whites were below the poverty level as non-whites--17.4 million as compared to 8.0 million. (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1969) Income level alone does not take into account discriminatory practices. Consequently, "poverty" takes on different meanings for different populations; to be poor and a member of a non-white group can have different consequences from being poor and white.

Schools and the educational delivery systems are part and parcel of the urban crisis--both a consequence and a contributing factor. The HEW Urban Task Force, pointed out that the problems facing urban schools are not entirely new and have actually existed for a considerable period of

time. What is different now is the surfacing nationally of these problems and the recognition of their complexities and severity, including: "the steadily dwindling financial resources; the persistence of racism; the rising expectations of impoverished urban residents; and the interrelatedness of all the problems to poverty." (Urban Education Task Force, 1970, p.5)

Quality and Equality

The increasingly active and militant demands for schools to upgrade the achievement levels of inner-city pupils and prepare them more adequately for life in an urban technical society has been expressed in the calls for "quality education" and "equality of educational opportunities." Neither phrase has been clearly defined but discussions have served a useful function in highlighting existing ambiguities and resulting conflicts in educational practice. Quality education is defined by some groups as "the kind of education provided the white middle class suburban child" and measured by standardized tests of achievement and admissions gained to colleges and universities. Others see such a goal as too limited and describe quality in terms of "maximization of human potential," maintaining that the kind of education presently provided even the majority child is totally inadequate and inappropriate.

Conceptions of the meaning of equality of educational opportunity are equally varied, ranging from equality with respect to various school and community inputs to equal educational outcomes. The mandate to assess "the lack of equality of educational opportunity" among racial and other minority groups required that Coleman and his staff define equality and

inequality. He has observed:

> The original concept could be examined by determining the degree to which all children in a locality had access to the same schools and the same curriculum, free of charge. The existence of diverse secondary curricula appropriate to different futures could be assessed relatively easily. But the very assignment of a child to a specific curriculum implies acceptance of the concept of equality which takes futures as given. And the introduction of the new interpretations, equality as measured by results of schooling and equality defined by racial integration, confounded the issue even further. (Coleman, 1969, p.18)

In a memorandum to his staff which determined the design of the survey, Coleman set forth five "types of inequality" defined in terms of: (1) differences in community inputs to the school (e.g., per-pupil expenditures, facilities, teacher quality, etc.); (2) racial composition of the school on the basis of the 1954 Supreme Court decision that segregated schooling was inherently inferior; (3) differences in various intangible characteristics of the school and other factors related to community inputs to the school (e.g., teachers' expectations, level of student interest in learning, teacher morale, etc.); (4) educational outcomes for students with equal backgrounds and abilities (i.e., equal results given similar inputs); and (5) educational consequences for individuals with unequal backgrounds and abilities (i.e., equal results given different individual inputs). The Coleman study focused primarily on the fourth definition on the basis that the findings might best be translated into policies which could improve

the effects of schooling--that is, the determination of those elements that are effective for learning. (ibid., pp.18-19)

Among the controversial findings from the Coleman survey was one stressing the significance of the social context in determining achievement in contrast to school services and resources. The survey reported that differences in majority Black and majority white school characteristics which had been considered significant--e.g., per-pupil expenditures, physical facilities, teacher preparation expressed as years of training, etc.--were not nearly as large as had been expected.

In fact, regional differences were much greater than majority-minority differences. Because the school service variables explained only a small part of the pupil performance variances, Coleman concluded:

> Taking all these results together, one implication stands above all: That schools bring little influence to bear upon a child's achievement that is independent of his background and general social context; and that this very lack of independent effect means that the inequalities imposed upon children by their home, neighborhood, and peer environment are carried along to become the inequalities with which they confront adult life at the end of school. For equality of educational opportunity through schools must imply a strong effect of schools that is independent of the child's social environment, and that strong independent effect is not present in American schools. (U.S. Office of Education, 1966, p.325)

The Coleman study did find differences among ethnic groups in their apparent sensitivity to the effect of some school factors such as the

quality of teachers and the availability of enriched programs. Generally, school factors appeared to be strongest for Black schools in the South. In addition, a pupil attitude factor which appeared to have a particularly strong relationship to achievement--stronger than all "school" factors--was the extent to which the individual pupil felt he had some control over his own destiny. While minority pupils tended to have far less conviction than whites that they could affect their own environments and futures, when they did have such a belief, their achievement was higher than that of whites who lacked it. Furthermore, for Black students, the environmental control variable appeared to be related to the proportion of whites in the school--the Blacks in schools with a higher proportion of whites had a greater sense of control. What the origins are of strong feelings of fate and environmental control is quite unclear, whether the conviction is a cause or consequence and how the school influences it.

The Coleman Report raised many questions for policy makers and program planners.

For example, Guthrie has pointed out that since the publication of the Coleman Report,

> the belief has become increasingly pervasive that patterns of academic performance are immutably molded by social and economic conditions outside the school. If incorrect, and if allowed to persist unexamined and unchallenged, this belief could have wildly disabling consequences. It is not at all difficult to foresee how it could become self-fulfilling; administrators and teachers believing that their school and schoolroom actions make no difference might begin to behave

> accordingly. Conversely, if the assertion is correct but allowed to pass unheeded, the prospect of pouring even more billions of local, State, and Federal dollars down an ineffective rathole labeled "schools" is equally unsettling. (Guthrie, 1970, p.25)

A reanalysis of the Coleman data by the Office of Education has tempered somewhat the flat assertion in the original report, suggesting that the influence of the school on achievement cannot be separated from that of the student's social background and vice versa: "In conclusion, it may be stated that the schools are indeed important. It is equally clear, however, that their influence is bound up with that of the student's social background." (U.S. Office of Education, 1970, p.xiv) On the basis of a review of nineteen studies, Guthrie reported that he was "impressed with the amount and consistency of evidence supporting the effectiveness of school services in influencing the academic performance of pupils." (Guthrie, 1970, p.46) While expressing the hope that the time would come when it would be possible to determine which school service components have greatest impact and in what proportion, nevertheless, he concluded, "there can be little doubt that schools do make a difference."

The Commission on Civil Rights interprets the Coleman findings as supporting school desegregation--both racial and socioeconomic--since there is a strong relationship between the family economic and educational background of the child and his achievement and attitudes: "Regardless of his own family background, an individual student achieves better in schools where most of his fellows are from advantaged backgrounds than in schools where most of his fellow students are from disadvantaged backgrounds."

(U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967, p.203) However, some analysts accept the Coleman findings on the extent of segregation and academic retardation while questioning the casual relationships between segregation and retardation.

The then U.S. Commissioner of Education Allen viewed "opportunities for learning" as encompassing much more than school buildings and specially trained qualified teachers:

> "Opportunity for learning" means, to me, a community where fathers are employed and where children can learn through their fathers about the dignity of man. It means a community where the population of rats does not exceed the population of children, and where children can learn the values of a healthy society. It means a community of clean streets, of playgrounds, of uncrowded homes, where children can learn the value of living in a free country and the importance of keeping it free. And finally, it means a community free of fear, where children can learn to love life and their fellow man. (Allen, 1970, p.81)

The policy implications of the Coleman and Commission on Civil Rights reports point to the interaction of family, neighborhood, and school on the academic and affective growth of children and the need to improving these environments. But, the questions concerning equality and inequality in educational process inputs and outcomes are now being more intelligently examined.

Research and Development

Poor scholastic performance of disadvantaged populations has been so amply documented that few challenge the accuracy of such reports. The past decade has witnessed an outpouring of research and experimentation and the initiation of a vast array of programs and projects. Most of this research, Gordon notes, can be dividided into two broad classifications--one encompassing studies of the performance characteristics of disadvantaged groups and the other containing descriptions and superficial assessments of programs presumably designed to provide for the disadvantaged. Much of the research tends to focus on "deficits" or "differences" of disadvantaged from more advantaged populations with such deviations "used to account for the observed dysfunctions in educational performance among members" of the former group. (Gordon, 1970a, pp.1-2)

There is a rich and growing body of literature on cognitive and affective development differences among various racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic groups; on family structure, life styles, and child rearing patterns as these affect educational processes; on language development and linguistic differences; and on other behavioral characteristics of individuals and groups. While many studies focus on social and cultural factors affecting educational achievement, there is increasing attention to the health of the disadvantaged child as a contributing factor to scholastic failure. Reviewing a variety of studies, Birch concluded that "a serious consideration of available health information leaves little doubt that children who are economically and socially disadvantaged and in an ethnic group exposed to discrimination, are exposed to massively excessive risks for maldevelopment."

(Birch, 1967, pp.30-31) Social class and the socialization processes has been widely studied with respect to behavioral correlates, especially of young children. (Zigler, 1970) A variety of studies have focused on the effects of segregation and the consequences of desegregation on minority group performance. (Weinberg, 1970) Research has also shed some light on the effects of organizational and grouping practices, teacher expectations, curricular options, instructional materials, and neighborhood setting, and similar factors on achievement of disadvantaged students.

Some research and experimentation has stimulated new treatment programs and intervention strategies--for example, the mushrooming of pre-school and early childhood programs--the relation of program to theory and research has been somewhat tenuous. Gordon has observed that:

> treatments tended to emerge from special biases or dominant models in the field, with either the fact of intervention or the magnitude of interventions receiving more attention than the specific nature or quality of interventions. This tendency may account for the fact that much of the research referrable to treatment and programs is characterized by superficial description of program or practice and general evaluation of impact. (Gordon, 1970a, p.8)

Most program proposals, almost by necessity, contain some implicit, if not explicit, indication of the hypotheses or theoretical bases underlying the proposed intervention or treatment. For example, if experiential differentials and deprivations in infancy are perceived as accounting for minority group youngsters entering classroom ill-prepared to cope with the demands of the school, then early childhood programs should be designed to

compensate for such deficiencies. If language development impedes transition from concrete to abstract modes of thought, then programs should provide appropriate linguistic experiences which will nurture such growth. If child-rearing patterns and maternal teaching styles affect cognitive growth, then parent education programs should develop different skills and behaviors. But even research which does provide the kinds of analyses which contribute to building theory and understanding behavior often reports equivocal findings which open debate rather than provide guidelines for the practitioner. Consequently, there are several "theories" or explanations or models set forth to explain inferior scholastic attainment and intellectual functioning of poor children--none of which is completely satisfying. Nor is it likely that a theory will emerge although hopefully theoretical models will provide better guidance for program planners and decision makers. However, the cafeteria-eclectic approach which presently prevails leaves much to be desired.

Some of the ambiguities for the program planner and practitioner are illustrated by an analysis of early childhood research by the Baratzes. In a review of "the interventionist literature with particular emphasis on the role of social pathology in interpreting the behavior of the ghetto mother," Baratz and Baratz conclude that much of the research represents "the predominant ethnocentric view of the Negro community by social science [which] produces a distorted image of the life patterns of that community." (Baratz and Baratz, 1970, p.30) They contend that intervention programs which aim at changing the child's home environment, altering the child-rearing patterns of Black families, and improving his language and cognitive skills "are, at best, unrealistic in terms of current linguistic and anthro-

pological data and, at worst, ethnocentric and racist." The Baratzes reject interpretations of research which support either the social pathology and genetic inferiority models and set forth instead a cultural difference model based on the assumption "that the behavior of Negroes is not pathological but can be explained within a coherent, distinct, American-Negro culture which represents a synthesis of African culture in contact with American European culture from the time of slavery to the present day." (p.45) Thus, they argue that intervention programs are needed but that these should deal with the materials and processes of the school rather than with the children being served in such programs. They also point out that interpretations of research are often subject to the socio-political convictions of the researcher.

Gordon has observed that "in contrast to the rather well-designed and detailed research into the characteristics of disadvantaged groups, the description and evaluation of educational programs and practices for these children have generally been superficial." (Gordon, 1970b, p.8) He suggests that such research can be grouped into four categories: (a) studies of large-scale projects such as Head Start, Title I ESEA, and Upward Bound; (b) studies of specific projects and services in schools such as curricular innovations, remedial reading programs, and tutoring groups; (c) studies of administrative and organizational changes such as desegregation, flexible grouping, pupil-teacher ratios; and (d) studies of attitudinal and skill changes in school personnel, focusing on teacher expectations and role models. (pp.8-12)

Evaluation of various kinds of program, from pre-school through college, compensatory and remedial, have not indicated uniform or con-

siderable "success." On the basis of its comprehensive review of compensatory programs, the Commission on Civil Rights concluded that such efforts had not met with lasting effects in improving student achievement probably "because they have attempted to solve problems that stem, in large part, from racial and social class isolation in schools which themselves are isolated by race and social class." (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967, p.205)

A study of Title I ESEA programs in 39 cities at the end of the second year indicated that concentrated remedial help could raise the level of pupil achievement but that such programs were extremely costly in terms of teachers, space, specialists and materials--resources which tend to be particularly scarce in the central cities. However, the costs per student were often almost prohibitive. (U.S. Office of Education, 1968) The Fourth Annual Report of the National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children observed:

> It has long been clear that the mere addition of people, equipment, and special services does not by itself constitute compensatory education; success in making up for the educational deprivation which stems from poverty requires a strategy for blending these resources in an integrated program that strikes at both roots and consequences of disadvantage. The details of this strategy, however, have by no means been clear. (National Advisory Council on Education of Disadvantaged Children, 1969, p.3)

Despite the fact that all Title I ESEA proposals require an evaluation component, in the view of the Advisory Council, the combination of in-

sufficient experience with compensatory programs and the wide variation in the kind and quality of evaluative data collected has prevented any overall nationwide evaluation of such efforts and made it difficult to identify elements which contribute to any successes. The Advisory Council observes rather ambivalently: "What is clear is that among the thousands of different programs and approaches labeled as compensatory education, some efforts are paying off and others are not." (p.3) The Council's report included details concerning 21 programs (screened from 1,000 of the more than 20,000 ESEA programs) which the American Institute for Research had found to have produced "significant achievement gains in language and numerical skills." The successful programs were compared by the AIR with unsuccessful ones to ascertain what distinguished the two. The AIR identified two requirements: establish clear goals and specific academic objectives and concentrate attention and resources on these objectives.

A different kind of assessment of Title I ESEA was prepared by the Washington Research Project and the NCAAP, two organizations whose concern is with the rights of the poor. Their report focused on how Title I is administered and the money spent and the consequences for poor children. They did not attempt to study the educational value or impact of specific programs of compensatory education. The review found that in school systems across the country, Title I:

-- has not reached eligible children in many instances;

-- has not been concentrated on those most in need so that there is reasonable promise of success;

-- has purchased hardware at the expense of instructional programs;

-- has not been used to meet the most serious educational needs of school children; and

-- has not been used in a manner that involves parents and communities in carrying out Title I projects.

(Washington Research Project, 1969, pp.i-ii)

This review of the administration of Title I funds at the local, state and Federal levels raised serious questions about whether the pessimistic evaluations of compensatory programs were due to mismanagement and misapplication of the funds rather than the nature of the programs themselves. The report reinforced observations made earlier that compensatory education had not failed--rather, it had never really been tried as yet.

Even studies of nationwide programs such as Head Start have been rather restricted in scope or results. The Westinghouse-Ohio University National Evaluation of Head Start reported that: summer programs alone produced neither cognitive nor affective gains which persisted through the early elementary grades; year-round programs had marginal effects on cognitive development which persisted in the early grades but had little influence on affective development; programs appeared to be most effective in mainly-Black centers in scattered central cities; Head Start children seem still to be below norms on achievement and psycholinguistic tests but approached norms on readiness tests; and parents approved and participated in Head Start activities. (Smith and Bissell, 1970, pp.51-52)

The Westinghouse-Ohio University evaluation was not the first of Head Start but the timing and the nature of the release of the findings resulted in a widespread impression that such programs were of very limited value

and such efforts were generally futile. Smith and Bissell reanalyzed some of the data and indicated that findings were far more positive. However, the Westinghouse-Ohio University researchers rejected most of the re-analysis and defended their own procedures and findings. (Cicirelli, Evans, and Schiller, 1970)

Evaluative and research studies of such nationwide projects as Upward Bound (to help underachieving low-income students prepare for higher education) and the Neighborhood Youth Corps (to prevent and assist high school dropouts) have provided insights into the nature of the populations served as well as some of the consequences of the program activities. (Office of Economic Opportunity, 1970; U.S. Department of Labor, 1970)

In general, project evaluations consist of pre- and post-treatment testing, usually of reading, mathematics and general intelligence. Few efforts have been made to assess affective growth. Few compensatory projects have been designed with sufficient sophistication to provide insights as to what aspects of the treatment or program produced a change, if any. The vast majority of evaluation efforts have simply attempted to determine whether there has been an "improvement" in basic skills and intellectual ability after a period of time. Most school-based projects are primarily interested in program development--providing what it is hoped will be more appropriate experiences--and not in research to determine what inputs account for change. The fact that it is in the area of pre-school and early childhood education that the best designed research is taking place may be due, in part, to such programs functioning outside the ongoing school framework and the feasibility of controlled experimentation.

Discussing the complexities in assessing compensatory education,

McDill, McDill, and Sprehe point to three general problems: (a) difficulties in determining program effectiveness because the critical variables are either unknown or cannot be measured adequately--for example, are changes due to treatment or maturational effects or both and to what extent; (b) difficulties in separating the effects of interaction of various socializing agencies since learning takes place in a variety of settings in and out of the school; and (c) technical difficulties due to the shortage of rigorous measuring instruments even when the criterion and predictor variables are known. Along with these general problems, compensatory program evaluators face recurring problems as: pressures for immediate as opposed to long-term, carefully planned evaluation; vagueness of criteria and the setting of objectives which are politically sound but operationally impossible; altering treatment before adequate evaluation; scarcity of such resources as money and skills which mitigate against replicability; and difficulties in initiating and maintaining treatment and non-treatment populations. (McDill, McDill, and Sprehe, 1969) Underlying all of these is the fact that "in compensatory programs, we are still trying to diagnose the problems and their causes while simultaneously applying remedies. Society insists on finding a workable solution even before we understand the mechanism by which the solution works." (p.66)

Strategies and Models for Urban Programs

A continuum of six basic strategies for reforming urban schools has been set forth by Fantini and Young: (a) compensatory education--attempts

to overcome shortcomings in learners and to raise their achievement levels; (b) desegregation--designed to improve educational achievement and human relationships through a better racial and socioeconomic mix; (c) model subsystems--development of experimental units to improve staff training, curriculum, methodologies, and school-community relations and have such units serve as demonstration and dissemination bases for the rest of the system; (d) parallel systems--establishment of private schools, often operated by non-profit companies, which presumably would be free of public school bureaucracies and be more responsive to ghetto educational needs; (e) total system reform--aimed at providing new leadership and structural changes and increasing efficiency of the existing system; and (f) new systems development--conceptualization of an educational system for a new community or a newly designated area autonomous from the rest of the system. (Fantini and Young, 1970, pp.13-20)

A somewhat different analysis of alternative models for transforming the institutional structure of inner city schools has been set forth by Janowitz: (a) the mental health model assumes that slum family resources are so limited and the values so different from those of the school that the school itself must intervene to insure that the needs and services required by each child are made available, becoming responsible for the total social space of the child even if this means becoming a residential institution; (b) the early education model assumes that if the school is unable to become a residential institution then it can intervene during the critical years of infancy and early childhood; (c) the specialization model involves the introduction on a piecemeal basis of new techniques, programs, specialists, administrative procedures--each of which may appear

valid--so that the teaching process is broken up into more and more specialized roles performed by specialists and resource personnel; and (d) the aggregation model stresses the need for maintaining and strengthening the teacher's role as central manager of a classroom which is essentially a social system and involving other personnel and resources as needed. (Janowitz, 1969, pp.35-60) Each of these models, has different implications for such aspects as "classroom management; the use of the new media; teacher education and career lines; authority and decentralization; pupil composition; school-community relations." (p.60)

Miller and Roby believe that the various strategies for improving educational performance of poor and minority group children can be subsumed into five categories: (a) changing the student and his family--aiming at "'compensatory socialization' in which the deficiencies of the educational environment provided by low-income family life would be made up later;" (b) changing the school--aiming at bringing about changes in the teachers, administrators, curriculum, materials, services, etc., rather than focusing on the deficiencies of the learners; (c) increasing resources and changing their distribution--increasing the level of funding and also altering the integration; and (e) changing control of the schools--decentralizing administrative arrangements for schools and providing for greater community control and involvement in decision-making. Miller and Roby contend that our limited understandings of how to bring about changes at the micro-level of education (teaching of reading or teachers' attitudes, for example) result in efforts at alteration at the macro-level: "Hopefully, when we have accomplished change at the macro-level--change in the organizational context, changes across urban-suburban

lines in student composition, changes in the distribution of educational and economic resources, and the development of alternatives to education for economic self-improvement--we will be able to function at the micro-level." (p.29) However, it can be argued that many programs are simply projects at a micro-level with no basic conceptual model involved.

A U. S. Office of Education publication titled, Profiles in Quality Education, typical of program description literature, contains information on "150 outstanding Title I projects....designated by State Title I Coordinators as worth emulating." No data are provided to support the introductory statement that each of these programs "provides valuable assistance to the low-income children it serves." (U.S. Office of Education, 1968, p.iv) The projects cover a variety of foci and include examples of "work-study programs, health services, remedial programs, English as a second language activities, college preparatory classes, teacher training....programs that concentrate on early childhood education, the dropout, the vocational student." The various projects encompass all aspects of the educational process, most restricted to some facet of the problem and only a few designed to be comprehensive and inclusive.

Most such programs, particularly those at the secondary school level, are aimed at upgrading academic achievement in standard subjects. A comprehensive study of student objectives of compensatory programs for adolescents by Harrison involved gleaning stated or implied goals from 432 documents. Harrison identified 689 distinct, operational objectives which could be cataloged by behavior (cognitive or affective) and by referent (specific school subject, general academic achievement, social development or career development) and found that primary emphasis (75

percent of all objectives) was on academic achievement with little or no concern for social or career development. This stress on academic achievement at the expense of the development of other behaviors was essentially the same emphasis for the more advantaged youth and represented a rigidity in school structure, requiring "all students to adapt to the system of expectations, rather than changing the system and its expectations to adapt to the contemporaneous need of the students." (Harrison, 1969, p.13)

To reverse present trends and to move toward the provision of full equality of educational opportunity, the Kerner Commission recommended the pursuit of four "basic strategies," and provided suggested programs for each:

a. Increasing efforts to eliminate de facto segregation--increased financial aid to school systems seeking to eliminate segregation within the system itself or in cooperation with neighboring systems; establishment of major educational magnet schools to draw racially and socioeconomically mixed populations and provide special curricula and specialized educational programs; establishment of supplemental education centers to provide racially integrated educational experiences for white and Black students.

b. Improving the quality of teaching in ghetto schools--year-round education for disadvantaged students; establishment of early childhood programs designed to overcome effects of disadvantaged environment, involving parents and the home as well as the child; provision of extra

incentives for highly qualified teachers in ghetto schools; reduction in maximum class size; curricular recognition of the history, culture and contribution of minority groups; individualized instruction; intensive concentration on basic verbal skills; and development of new patterns of education for students who do not fit into traditional forms.

c. Improving community-school relations--elimination of obstacles to community participation in the educational process; opening schools for a variety of community service functions; use of local residents as teacher aides and tutors; increasing the accountability of schools to the community.

d. Expanding opportunities for higher and vocational education--expansion of Upward Bound Program; removal of financial barriers to higher education; emphasis on part-time cooperative education and work-study programs through use of release time; elimination of barriers to full participation in vocational education programs; increased training to meet the critical need for more workers in professional, semi-professional and technical fields. (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968, pp.438-455)

The Kerner Commission suggests no priorities for these four "strategies." It could well be that education in the ghetto is in such a state that any of the suggested programs has some potential payoff. In fact, examples of

of each of these suggested programs can already be found in operation in some urban school systems. In a critique of operating compensatory programs, Gordon and Wilkerson observed:

> For all their variety of means, the programs have generally suffered from one fundamental difficulty--they are based on sentiment rather than fact....The great majority of the programs are simply an attempt to "do something" about these problems. Their stated aims are usually couched in unarguable generalities....The urge to do something has been so compelling that many of the programs have been designed without grounding in any systematic study of ways and means. (Gordon and Wilkerson, 1966, p.158)

What is needed, Gordon and Wilkerson argue, is not simply a filling in of gaps so that disadvantaged children can be reached by existing practices, but rather an inquiry of a different kind: "What kind of educational experience is most appropriate to what these children need and to what our society is becoming?"

The many urban education programs and projects can be characterized and cataloged in a variety of ways--by target population (preschool, elementary, higher education, adult, teacher, etc.); by nature of treatment (therapeutic, compensatory, remedial, enrichment, etc.); by nature of services (instructional, counselling, community development, health, etc.); by focus of activities (in school, family, community, industry, non-school agency, etc.); by basic intent of strategy (reform of system, redistribution of power, integration, reallocation of resources, etc.); by focus of diagnosis and prescriptive activities (learners, professionals,

the educational system, society, etc.); and by source of funding (Office of Education, Office of Economic Opportunity, state, non-governmental, foundation, etc.). These catalog sets are not mutually exclusive, of course. Some efforts are limited and restricted (e.g., a Head Start class for 15 four-year olds) while others are more global and comprehensive (e.g., an "open" high school or a Model School sub-system). Most school programs tend to be additive rather than designed for fundamanetl reform. Some proposals deal with personnel changes, some with organization changes, and still others with affecting the relationships among various components of the educational enterprise--formal and informal, school and non-school.

Any listing of urban projects would be quite lengthy as indicated by publications issued by the U. S. Office of Education and the ERIC Information Retrieval Center on the Disadvantaged at Teachers College, Columbia University. The general patterns of strategies and programs which follow provide an overview of the range and diversity of activities attacking some aspect of the urban education problem.

Infant Education and Intervention in Family Life--Efforts have been aimed at changing child-rearing styles through educational programs designed to alter interactions and relationships between parent (usually the mother) and child. Research has indicated that parent-child and familial interactions strongly influence intellectual and affective development of children. Programs of parental involvement range from helping the mother become an active teacher of her child to altering the mother's language usage to improving family stability. (See, for instance, Grotberg, 1969.)

Early Childhood Education--There has been an explosion in the number and variety of early childhood and pre-school programs in the past half-dozen years, particularly with the inception of the Head Start programs. Pre-school programs may consist of traditional nursery school activities or provide much more structured activities such as a "therapeutic curriculum in language, math, science, reading skills, and concept formation," an academically-oriented program in verbal skills and language training, a Montesorri program, a diagnostically-based language curriculum, and a cultural enrichment program. By far, the largest number of pupils are found under the Head Start canopy in programs which are intended primarily for the children of the poor. The nature and quality of Head Start and other early childhood programs vary considerably. Various public and private non-profit agencies are eligible for assistance in organizing Head Start activities for children beginning at age three.

Reading, Language and Basic Skills Development--Because of the poor academic achievement of disadvantaged pupils, reading, language and basic skills development programs have been the focus of many compensatory efforts. It has been estimated that in the early years of Title I ESEA, more than half of all the projects dealt directly with the improvement of reading through new curricula, methodologies, materials, personnel deployment, and "systems." New basal reader series and supplementary materials have been produced, including self-instructional programmed materials, reading aids, and mechanical devices. New technologies include language laboratories, talking typewriters, individualized teaching machine devices, and computer-aided instruction. Professionals and non-professionals have been used in a variety of teaching and tutoring

situations. Various publishing and industrial groups have prepared new "systems" for teaching reading. Yet, reading disability and scholastic failure has become more, rather than less intense and the incidence of functional illiteracy among urban disadvantaged population grows.

Bilingual Education-- For large numbers of pupils, English is not the mother tongue. Spanish is the first language of thousands of Puerto Rican, Chicano, and Cuban pupils in the East and Southwest. More than a half million American Indian children speak one of the tribal languages. There is a large concentration of French-speaking children in Louisiana. For these youngsters, English represents a second language--their primary and spoken language is a language other than English. In addition, there are many children in urban settings whose speech patterns and dialect are considered "non-standard." Past practice has been to provide instruction in English, to make every effort to teach the child to speak and read English, and to eliminate non-standard speech. Increasingly, programs have been developed to provide bilingual instruction based on the recognition that "no reading program for disadvantaged children will be effective unless it takes into consideration the children's spoken language habits." (Saville, 1970, p.115) The question of non-standard dialects and their affect on communication is being reassessed. Many disadvantaged children communicate quite effectively in non-standard English and efforts are being made to capitalize on this base rather than ignore its existence.

Curriculum Relevance--Responding to the argument that much of what is taught in today's schools is irrelevant for the student, efforts are being made to provide more meaningful and appropriate instruction.

Relevance is a term which is still being defined and has many meanings. Generally, the indictment of irrelevant programs is based on the premise that "they have no relationship to the world the student knows outside school or to the roles he plays now or will later play in his adult life." (Fantini and Young, 1970, p.50) Curriculum development efforts have involved students and parents as well as professionals in designing new courses and emphasizing different content within traditional subjects. For example, a high school English course may add Black writers to the literature studied or a new course may be added dealing with Black writers and their contributions to various kinds of literature. Or the standard Problems of American Democracy course may be completely redesigned to grapple with the immediate manifestations of these problems--poverty, pollution, population, war, economic politics--rather than the more general aspects.

The concern with developing a Black identity has resulted in reassessment of content in existing language, literature, and social studies courses as well as the development of new courses with titles such as: The Black Experience in America, African Studies, World Cultures, Afro-American Art. Similar curriculum development projects are found dealing with the heritage and condition of other racial and ethnic groups--the American Indian, the Mexican American, the Puerto Rican, for example. Sometimes such programs are designed for the minority group students alone and, in other instances, the experiences are meant for all students. Some projects deal with the problems of cultural renewal and change, with questions of political, economic and social power-redistribution, or with "Cities in Crisis."

The traditional educational goals, largely middle-class majority-

group oriented, have come under scrutiny as to their appropriateness and value. In the course of this reappraisal, all aspects of the instructional program are being reexamined for relevance. As a consequence, curriculum changes range from minor tinkering (e.g., substituting one novel for another) to major reconstruction (e.g., student-faculty operated school.) Such changes have meant different responses to the traditional curriculum questions with students and parents participating more actively in program development. Building more relevant curricula is one of the reasons advanced for greater community control of schools.

Compensatory and Remedial Programs--Compensatory programs may involve a variety of provisions aimed at presumed defects or deficiencies in disadvantaged learners. Such programs may include remedial instruction designed to overcome poor performance, especially in the basic skills areas. Remedial programs range from supplying an itinerant specialist to comprehensive clinics and diagnostic-treatment centers. Remedial techniques include more individualized treatment, extra instruction, special teaching materials, reading laboratories, language arts centers, and provisions for one-to-one or small group teaching. Such programs may focus on pupil attitudes and motivation as well as learning-how-to-learn skills. Compensatory programs may also include cultural enrichment opportunities, experiences designed to broaden the horizons of disadvantaged pupils. The New York City Higher Horizons Program, at one time, represented the prototype for many such programs, combining a variety of remedial and guidance services in school with a cultural enrichment program of museum, theater, concert, and field trips. Many pre-school programs are designed to compensate for various experiential deprivations presumably suffered

by disadvantaged learners.

Guidance and Counselling Programs--Guidance, psychological, and therapeutic services are provided in some projects for the disadvantaged. In some instances, the absence of personnel has been due to shortage of funds and Title I ESEA has made it possible to add counsellors. In other cases, intensive group therapy programs and concentrated clinical services for pupils with academic, social, and psychological difficulties have been provided. Social workers have been involved to bridge the gap between school and family, focusing on social rather than academic problems of learners. Parent involvement in counselling and therapy programs has been arranged.

Tutoring Programs--Individual and small-group tutoring programs with professionals, paraprofessionals and volunteers based in school and non-school agencies (churches, settlement houses, and storefronts) have spread rapidly. The tutors range from middle and secondary school youth to college students to adults of all ages. In one of the earliest such programs, Mobilization for Youth's Homework Helper Program, high school youth were trained and paid to work with fifth and sixth graders, with the two-pronged goal of enchancing the self-image and academic achievement of the tutors and the scholastic attainment of the younger children. Tutoring programs may involve nothing more than reading to a disadvantaged child or may consist of a highly structured program in mathematics and language development. The tutoring programs often aim at providing a positive adult model and a one-to-one relationship to indicate that someone really cares enough about the disadvantaged child to devote time to him.

Testing and Measurement--Tests and testing procedures have been criticized for cultural and social class bias. The validity of standardized tests of intelligence and achievement used with minority group students has been seriously questionned. Minority group students are seen as handicapped by language difficulties in test-taking, by lack of experience with testing requirements, by inadequate understanding of the purposes of the tests, by low motivation to succeed on such tests. Moreover, the testing procedures are viewed as a means by which Black and other minority group students are "tracked" into inferior educational programs and effectively blocked from pursuing further education. Test scores and grading procedures affect both pupil and teacher expectations, often contributing to early dropout. Some efforts are being made to develop more effective diagnostic and prognostic procedures, to develop evaluation procedures which serve instructional rather than selection functions, to train staff members to interpret and use testing results more meaningfully, and to sensitize staff to the consequences of misuse of testing and grading procedures. The demands for accountability from various community groups have resulted in the search for evaluation and assessment procedures to determine the effectiveness of teachers and teaching and organizational arrangements.

School Organization--Included in programs in urban schools are a variety of organizational changes. These include such changes as extended school days, extended school years, and year-round school programs. Team teaching, non-graded programs, open classrooms, flexible schedules and similar arrangements--first introduced in many instances in suburban schools--are being adapted to the urban school. Because tracking has

become controversial, alternate flexible grouping arrangements are being made.

Instructional Materials and Resources--Concern with urban education has resulted in a flood of new materials, some of which are part of the general flow of multi-media instructional resources but focused rather specifically on the real or perceived needs of central city students. Publishers have broadened their production from white, middle-class oriented textbooks to a variety of resources, print and non-print. Varieties of multi-sensory materials have been developed, often packaged in kits, some of which are visual, some audio, often providing for "sound, touch, move, and make." There are units consisting of individualized, self-instructional materials. Talking typewriters, teaching machines, and computer-aided devices have been adopted for use with disadvantaged children and adults. The production of materials for teaching reading has been especially prolific. (Cohen, 1970)

In addition, there has been a sharp increase in the availability of materials appropriate for disadvantaged and minority group children. Insofar as materials are concerned, appropriate may mean: (a) materials which are multi-racial, multi-ethnic, multi-social class--through the text or content, the illustrations, or both; (b) materials which are urban-oriented rather than suburban or rural, depicting life in the urban setting with its problems as well as its resources; (c) materials which present the historical and cultural contributions of various minority groups to the American story, attempting to correct the distortions of the past; (d) materials which try to develop an understanding of the pluralistic world which surrounds children and youth today, often

through literary and social science materials; (e) materials which draw on the art, music, dance, drama and cultural heritage of various groups and societies; and (f) materials which use the contemporary story of emerging nations to help pupils understand the story of America's emergence and quandaries. (Passow, 1966, p.246) The output has been especially marked recently in the area of Black Studies materials with resources for the study of other minority groups just beginning to emerge.

Vocational Education, Dropout Prevention and Return Programs--Since the dropout rate for the disadvantaged minority students is several times that of more advantaged white students, a number of school programs are aimed at preventing school dropouts or facilitating their return to an educational program of some kind. Numerous studies have been made and psychological, sociological, economic as well as educational and other explanations have been advanced to explain early school withdrawal. (Tannenbaum, 1966; Dentler and Warshauer, 1965) From time to time, various programs have been mounted to reduce school dropouts, ranging from advertising ("Stay in School") to comprehensive school programs restricted to students who have already left. Numerous work-study programs giving equal importance to work skills and basic skills have been organized. Usually some kind of vocational or technical education is central to such programs with opportunities for work exploration, on-the-job training, subsidized work experience. Some school systems have provided short-term work experience for unemployed dropouts and combined thi with in-school instruction. In some instances, afternoon and evening schools are provided for high school students who then combine work with study. Arrangements are made with industry and business for cooperative

programs for vocational training. Other dropout prevention programs include: compensatory and remedial instruction; counselling and guidance; reduction of social distance between home and school through social and community workers; vocational preparation out of school; training and re-training by private industry. (Tannenbaum, 1966, pp.21-30)

The Vocational Education Act of 1963 and the amendments enacted in 1968 aimed at making vocational preparation an integral part of the educational process at the elementary and secondary school level, preparing all students for the world of work. The act emphasized development of programs "for equipping in-school youth, persons who have completed or left high school, and the disadvantaged and handicapped with job attitudes, knowledge and skills. It was specifically oriented toward reaching those in the ghetto--the potential dropouts." (Venn, 1969, p.4) The law authorized special programs for the disadvantaged and earmarked funds for this purpose. Vocational-technical programs are viewed as one of the vehicles for making curricula more relevant for urban youth. Thus far, the possibilities of new vocational programs have not been realized but school systems are beginning to develop and test more meaningful approaches.

Finally, some of the alternative programs now operating are specifically designed to provide an option to the school experience from which the youth has withdrawn. Sometimes these options are designed to re-motivate the student to return to the regular secondary school; in other instances, the intent is to by-pass the high school and provide other avenues to further education and training.

Urban School Staffing--Clearly, if any school factor makes a difference in academic performance, it appears to be the professional staff. Although

far from conclusive, research data supports the notion that teacher attitudes and expectations are related to performance of the inner city pupil. Surveys of literature on the disadvantaged often results in

> ...a bleak montage of teachers and administrators who are blinded by their middle-class orientation; prejudiced toward all pupils from lower-class, racial, and ethnic minority groups; culturally shocked and either immobilized or punitive in the classroom; and groping for safer berths where success, in terms of academic achievement, is more likely. (Passow, 1966b, p.104)

The NDEA National Institute for Advanced Study in Teaching Disadvantaged Youth "came to consider teacher education more and more as a whole, to attribute failures and inadequacies of education for the disadvantaged to defects in the education of teachers." (Smith, Cohen and Pearl, 1970, p.ix) Much the same criticisms are being made with respect to all professional personnel--administrators, counsellors, and supervisors.

Numerous programs are aimed at recruitment, training, induction, retention, and continuing education of professional personnel both at the pre-service and in-service levels. Such programs have meant the beginning of major reform at teacher-preparing colleges and universities as well as in in-service programs in schools. It has meant new and different relationships between schools and institutions of higher education, as well as the entry of publishing and other commercial firms into the teacher training field. With the concern for developing differentiated staffing

patterns has come a need for diverse modes of recruitment and preparation.

At the pre-service level, program revisions include: (a) early and continuous contact with children and adults in disadvantaged areas in a variety of school and non-school activities, ranging from tutoring to supervising after-school activities to observations to intensive clinical teaching experience; (b) involvement of behavioral and social scientists, such as cultural anthropologists, political scientists, and social psychologists, who apply research and theory from their disciplines to the needs and problems of disadvantaged areas; (c) intensive involvement of successful school practitioners--teachers, principals, counsellors and others--in working with students and faculties in planning, supervising, and evaluating experiences; (d) provisions for working with non-school agencies and to become actively involved in on-going anti-poverty and community development activities in order to understand better the problems and resources of ghetto life; (e) modification of college courses to make them more relevant to acquisition of insights, skills, and techniques needed for teaching in depressed areas; (f) provisions for examining and analyzing, and planning local program adaptations to known situations, current research, and experimentation being reported by other centers; and (g) provision of means for continuing relationships with college staff and resources beyond the initial induction period. (Passow, 1966a, pp.108-109)

On the twin assumptions that professional preparation has not provided for the attitudes, insights, skills and knowledge needed to work effectively in today's schools and that continuing education is a necessity for all professionals, numerous programs have been initiated involving

schools, colleges, and other agencies. These programs may focus on: changing attitudes and increasing self-understanding; remedying deficiencies in earlier preparation; developing insights into new skills, techniques, and resources; preparing to specialize in some new area of education or service; preparing to work in a school with a changing population, such as one that is newly desegregated; developing skills needed for working in a differentiated staffing pattern; acquiring skills for working with paraprofessionals and volunteers; preparing to fill new instructional and non-instructional roles.

The high correlation of academic achievement with race ethnic group, and social class has led to a number of studies attempting to understand and explain the casual factors. In recent years, a number of studies have focused on teacher expectations--the so-called "Pygmalion Effect" and the "Self-Fulfilling Prophecy"--and several studies have attempted to test the notion that the pupil's performance can be altered by changing teacher expectations. (Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968) Others have attempted to analyze the factors that are critical in determining the teacher expectations. (Rist, 1970) Although the phenomenon is not clearly understood, a number of projects at colleges and in schools are aimed at sensitizing teachers to the consequences of their attitudes and expectations on pupil performance.

Various programs often involve new staffing patterns. Sometimes, funds are used simply to improve the pupil-teacher ratio in an effort to provide more one-to-one contacts between pupil and adult. In other instances, various "specialists" are added to the staff to work in the classroom, in a clinic or ancillary service, in the community, or in the

home. New positions are being created, requiring different kinds of entry skills and preparation.

Auxiliary School Personnel--The recruitment, training, and use of auxiliary personnel--paraprofessionals, volunteers, and aides--has mushroomed in the past half dozen years, particularly as federal funds have been made available through Office of Education, Office of Economic Opportunity and Manpower Development and Training sources. Bowman and Klopf have cited four basic differences between present programs involving auxiliary personnel and earlier ones employing "teacher aides." These include: (a) emphasis on the right of all persons to essential human services coupled with the paucity of existing services; (b) shift from new entry-level jobs leading nowhere to the idea of a career ladder, with training available at each step; (c) emphasis on involvement of low-income workers as participants in the problem solving process rather than recipients of directions from professionals; and (d) a systematic approach involving role development, training, and institutionalization of such personnel as a stable and integral part of public service. (Bowman and Klopf, 1970) Paraprofessionals and aides tend to come primarily from low-income minority groups. They help provide individualized attention to students, improve communication between disadvantaged students and middle-class teachers, and provide concerned-adult models. They extend their own understandings into child development and community involvement while, at the same time, are gainfully employed on a career ladder. Thus, the use of low-income auxiliaries in disadvantaged areas potentially may yield positive pupil outcomes and have other socially valuable outcomes as well.

Low-income parents may be involved as volunteers as well in programs in which parent-involvement is an integral element. Volunteers, on the other hand, often come from middle-income groups and provide somewhat different kinds of services to students and schools.

Post-secondary and Higher Education--The percentage of minority group youth who go on for post-secondary and higher education has been but a small fraction of the rate for whites who pursue further education. As late as 1965, Coleman found that racial segregation in higher education was about as complete as it was in elementary and secondary schools. While college attendance is dependent on availability of financial resources, for non-whites inadequate preparation for college and poor counselling have been equally important factors affecting attendance. Programs concerned with increasing participation in higher education of disadvantaged youth take a variety of forms. These include:

a. High School Programs and Programs for Secondary School Youth--Several large-city school systems have initiated programs which attempt to identify disadvantaged ninth graders living in ghettos who appear to have potential for college work and to arrange conditions which will improve their academic attainment and increase their motivation for higher education. Usually such programs involve intensive instruction in the basic subjects, smaller classes, additional counselling, cultural enrichment, and admission to local colleges and universities assured upon successful completion of the secondary school program. In some instances, financial assistance is included during high school and college years. Often colleges and universities cooperate in various aspects of such programs. The federally sponsored Upward Bound Program is aimed at

secondary school youth, providing an intensive residential summer educational and counselling program at a college or boarding school plus an academic-year follow-up, designed to motivate disadvantaged youth to prepare for college. Other programs involve college students tutoring high school students or university facilities being made available to secondary school youth in order to help orient them toward higher education.

b. Admission to College--It has been argued that college admissions procedures are stacked against disadvantaged youth with the specific criticisms directed toward tests that are culturally unfair and alleged racism amongst admission officers. A variety of procedures are being used by colleges and universities in efforts to increase the numbers of minority group youth who are admitted to college. These range from "open admissions" policies, to differential requirements, to substitution of nominations for test performance, to admission by lottery. While studies of prediction of success and selection of admittees abound, their inapplicability to minority group youth has resulted in testing alternative procedures to those conventionally employed.

c. Transition to College for Disadvantaged Youth--A variety of programs have been initiated to increase the probability of success for disadvantaged youth once admitted to college. These include: "summer-preadmissions programs, reduced course load, remedial courses, tutorial assistance, guidance and counselling, extended length of time to meet graduation requirements, and financial assistance." (Kendrick and Thomas, 1970, p.167) Most of these programs are compensatory or remedial in nature although there have been substantive curricular changes as well.

Kendrick and Thomas concluded from the limited research available "that existing compensatory programs and practices have made little impact in eradicating the problems of disadvantaged college students, nor have the majority of colleges accepted this area as their role." However, as admissions procedures increase the number of disadvantaged youth who enter college with preparation that differs from the traditional patterns and standards, colleges and universities are forced to develop new and different instructional programs. Gordon has suggested that the immediate problem "is a radical distribution of labor in higher education, with the stronger institutions increasing their share of the responsibility for educating weaker students, and the smaller and weaker institutions serving more of the stronger students." (Gordon, 1969, p.10)

d. Extension of Post-Secondary Opportunities--Although colleges and universities have expanded their enrollments substantially, perhaps even greater growth has occurred in other areas of post-secondary education. Two-year community colleges in a number of states has made such institutions readily available to high school graduates on a full- or part-time basis with an opportunity to demonstrate one's capability for higher education. Technical and vocational schools at the post-high school level are being developed in some areas specifically to increase opportunities for disadvantaged youth.

e. Finally, most programs represent efforts to increase selection and attendance in the more or less traditional forms of higher education. Efforts at major reforms in higher education are as sparse as those at lower levels. There are those who see the increase in college-going of disadvantaged youth as a stimulus toward bringing about reform not only

in programs of higher education but in the relationships between colleges and their surrounding communities.

Community School and Community Development--In an effort to extend education into the neighborhood and the family and to make the school an integral part of the area, some systems have attempted to develop "community schools." The concept is not a new one, although its genesis seems to have been in rural areas. The community school as defined by the New Haven Board of Education should function as: (a) an education center where children and adults would have opportunities for study and learning; (b) a neighborhood center where persons of all ages may take part in a variety of recreational, cultural, leisure-time, and civic activities; (c) a center for community services where individuals and families may obtain health, counselling, legal aid, employment and other services; and (d) a center for neighborhood and community life, a catalyst for uniting citizens in the study and solution of significant neighborhood problems. (Twyman, 1970, p.205) Variations of the community school concept are being developed and implemented in large cities and the possibilities for reconceiving the role of the school in ghetto areas loom large. In some instances, issues of community control and accountability are being worked through in community school settings.

A more comprehensive approach is exemplified by Chicago's Woodlawn Development Project whose purpose is:

> To improve the quality of education in two inner-city de facto segregated schools through: a change in the social structure of the institutions which will include parents and children as participants; a comprehensive in-service education

program and a substantial increase in human and material sources; all concerned and implemented within a collaboration structure involving the Chicago Public Schools, the Woodlawn Organization and the University of Chicago."

(Congreve, 1969)

The staff view this collaborative arrangement as having considerable potential for bringing about local reform in urban education. The tripartite arrangement enables each of the participating agencies to bring its strengths to bear on school and community development problems.

Desegregation and Integration--In its 1954 decision in Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, the Supreme Court ruled that segregation compelled or expressly permitted by law was unconstitutional. The ruling that de jure segregation was to be eliminated "with all deliberate speed" proved to have been very slow in its implementation and it was not until Fall 1970 that real desegregation began to take place. At that time, 543 school districts in the eleven Southern states were scheduled to take desegregation action, most under court ordered and approved plans. Whether implementation of these plans will in fact place the majority of Southern Black children in desegregated school systems is yet to be determined. An equal, if not more complex aspect of the problem, is that of de facto segregation and racial isolation, both of which are most concentrated in the central cities. Residential segregation is particularly severe in the inner cities.

A variety of plans have been initiated to correct racial and ethnic imbalance (defined differently by state and locality but generally meaning a high concentration of Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, or other minority

group children and an absence or small proportion of white pupils.) These plans for desegregation have been used in both de jure and de facto situations. They include:

a. Altering attendance areas or rezoning school catchment areas.

b. Open enrollment or voluntary transfer from schools with heavy concentrations of non-whites to schools where space is available.

c. Voluntary exchange wherein white and non-white children are transferred on a one-to-one exchange.

d. Free-choice transfer under which parents may enroll their children in any school where space is available.

e. Princeton Plan or school pairing under which school buildings and/or grade levels are combined for larger attendance pools to achieve better racial balance.

f. Educational parks which provide for a concentration of educational facilities serving school populations from a large attendance area or even the total pupil population of the system.

g. Supplementary centers and magnet schools representing specialized educational programs which draw from all or many parts of the city.

h. Metropolitanization involving voluntary cooperation and exchanges between inner city and suburban schools or actual merger and consolidation of educational functions in a metropolitan area.

i. Site selection wherein new schools are strategically placed with respect to housing patterns to provide for better balance.

Variations and combinations of these techniques for desegregating schools have been used with some success in smaller cities and suburbs but racial isolation has, if anything, increased in inner cities primarily because of socioeconomic and racial residential patterns. In many instances, it becomes necessary to transport children to achieve racial balance. Despite the fact that millions of school children are and have been transported by school buses each day, particularly in the rural and sparsely populated regions, a nation-wide Gallup Poll taken in March 1970 disclosed that 86 percent of those questionned opposed busing as a means to school desegregation. The poll disclosed only small regional differences and very little difference between those who called themselves "liberal" or "conservative." (New York Times, 1970a) Other studies indicate that resistance to desegregation is not limited to the white majority.

The educational consequences of desegregation have been mixed and inconclusive. Often a resegregation has taken place within the classrooms of desegregated schools through grouping and tracking procedures. Commenting on the "inconclusive evidence of a relation between ethnic integration and achievement," St. John observed:

> One good reason that there has been no adequate research to date on the effect of integration is that there have been no adequate real-life tests--no large-scale, long-run instances of top-quality schooling insegregated minority-group schools. Until our society tries such experiments, researchers will not be able to evaluate them. (St. John, 1970, p.129)

The fact that substantial desegregation, let alone significant integration, has not been achieved in central cities, combined with growing ethnocentrism and nationalism, has resulted in proposals by some groups for separate school districts and systems. (Day, 1969; Jencks, 1968) The Congress on Racial Equality (CORE), for instance, has pressed for legislation for a separate school district in New York's Harlem and in Mobile County, Alabama. In Mobile, CORE supported a two-district plan--one predominantly white and the other predominantly Black. Testifying before a Senate committee, a Mexican-American educator commented: "Integration of poor black with poor brown or even a few poor whites is not benefiting any group of this nation." (New York Times, 1970b) The disenchantment by some minority groups with desegregation efforts is found in the drive for separatism and for community control.

Decentralization and Community Control--Large-scale educational bureaucracies, unresponsive to community needs, have been blamed in part for inferior education. The prime argument for decentralization is the belief that the educational program will be qualitatively improved to the extent that the school, parents, and community are brought into a more meaningful relationship with one another, with the community having a greater voice in educational decision-making. As a strategy for improving education for poor and minority groups, the rationale for decentralization and community control varies, from the conviction that parental involvement in determination of curriculum and selection of staff is essential, to an abandoning of faith in desegregation and compensatory programs, to the belief that separatism and isolation are the means by which power will be

attained and quality provided.

A number of large city school systems have initiated various plans for decentralizing, some simply for administrative purposes and others to facilitate community involvement in control and decision-making. The domain within which control is exercised varies but the key areas involve: hiring and firing of school personnel, determination of broad curriculum goals, selection of instructional materials, determination of nature and site of physical facilities, allocation of funds, and setting conditions of accountability. The issues concerning decentralization and community control are just being raised, sometimes through confrontation and struggle for power and sometimes through political processes. Gittell argues that community control of education is only one aspect of a more general movement: "Underlying the effort toward this goal is the desire to guarantee a meaningful redistribution of power in our cities....The ends that they seek and the thrust of their actions may benefit the political system and the larger community as a whole." (Gittell, 1969, p.375)

Alternative Schools and School Systems--Arguing that urban schools have become instruments for blocking rather than facilitating economic mobility and for intensifying class distinctions, Clark has proposed six competitive systems. These include: regional state schools, federal regional schools, college- and university-related open schools, industrial demonstration schools, labor union sponsored schools, and Defense Department schools.

> With strong, efficient, and demonstrably excellent parallel systems of public schools, organized and operated on a quasi-private level, and with quality control and professional

> accountability maintained and determined by Federal and State educational standards and supervision, it would be possible to bring back into public education a vitality and dynamism which are now clearly missing....American educational health may be made possible through educational competition. (Clark, 1969, p.186)

A number of proposals have been made for keeping the educational market free and installing competing systems which involve providing vouchers to parents thus enabling them to choose the kind and quality of education their children will receive. With the voucher, the parent could shop for better schooling and competition would be fostered between public and private schools where the grants could be used. Some proposals call for differential grants with large amounts going to poor children. (Carr and Hayward, 1970) At least one version of "education by chit" is being tested in the field.

Another kind of competition has been proposed by Levin who advocates that decentralized, community controlled public schools should be provided lump-sum allocations which they could use to purchase appropriate services from industries, non-profit groups, universities, or any other source. The community school board, in conjunction with the professional staff, would work out relevant educational strategies and then solicit competitive bids from a variety of sources. (Levin, 1969)

Still another proposal is that of Coleman who advocates publication of standardized test scores as a basis for interscholastic and intramural competition. Coleman suggests an open school with subject-specific choices--the student would spend part of the day at his home base but could take other

courses outside the school with payment by results. He sees the focus on scholastic achievement increments as providing an incentive structure if placed on a competitive games approach. (Coleman, 1967)

The past few years has seen the establishment of alternative schools of another kind, schools specifically designed for youth who have dropped out of public high school: Chicago's CAM Academy and Harlem Preparatory School in New York. Both are private schools, supported by grants from foundations and industrial concerns, enrolling primarily dropouts and providing "a second chance" to prepare for a college career. Harlem Prep is ungraded with a flexible, highly individualized curriculum which emphasizes pride in self, solidarity with one's peers, and commitment to success. Both schools have a deep commitment to the potential of the students despite their past records and both believe that the school and its program must adjust to the student, not vice versa. In addition to Harlem Prep, a number of Street Academies have been established in storefronts in ghetto areas of New York. Staffed by one or two teachers, a number of volunteers, and a street worker, the stress of the Street Academy is on re-motivating students more than trying to attain specific academic objectives.

Even within the public school system, major reforms are being undertaken. Philadelphia's Parkway Project or "School without Walls," Portland's Adams High School and Newton's Murray Road School represent totally flexible, informal, student-teacher planned programs in which traditional subjects and requirements are dropped. These and other proposals represent a belief that urban schools are failing and can only be reformed by being faced with competition which they must meet if they are to survive.

Finally, there is a beginning in the making of arrangements with business and industrial groups for what are known as "performance contracts." In Texarkana, Arkansas, for instance, the Dorsett Educational System has contracted to provide instruction in reading, math and study skills for a minimum of 200 students from low-income families in grades 7 through 12. Presumably, Dorsett is paid on the basis of grade-level increases in reading and math and the payments are subject to reduction if achievement gains are not made. Several other school systems are just initiating performance contracts with publishers of curriculum materials and producers of reading "systems" with payment usually based on achievement increment gains although some contracts are for flat fees. In July 1970, the Office of Economic Opportunity granted $6.5 million dollars to six companies in 18 school districts to test the performance contract concept during the school year.

Federally Supported or Assisted Programs--Since the 1960's, a number of programs have been launched as a consequence of federal legislation. These range from the Pilot School Breakfast Program in which preference is given to schools in low-income areas to Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 in which "the Congress hereby declares it to be the policy of the United States to provide financial assistance.... to local educational agencies serving areas with concentrations of children from low-income families...." While not specifically aimed at urban schools, clearly the target populations of a good many federally-assisted programs are the populations of the central cities. Any consideration of urban programs must include federal programs even though many of them operate outside the public school system. The Vocational Education Act of 1963,

the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, the Higher Education Act of 1965 are the major pieces of legislation, each authorizing a variety of programs affecting urban education. Among the most significant are:

a. Job Corps-- a program of basic education, skill training, and useful work experience for young men and women, ages 16 through 21. Job Corpsmen reside at training centers located at national parks or forests or in or near urban areas. The centers are operated by public or private agencies, school and non-school.

b. Neighborhood Youth Corps-- a program open to students from low-income families in grades 9 through 12, or in lower grades but of high school age. The three components include an in-school program of part-time work and on-the-job training; an out-of-school program of work experience and on-the-job training to encourage return of dropouts; and a summer work program.

c. College Work-Study Programs and College Work-Study Grants--a program which provides part-time employment and grants to students from low-income families. Work-Study Program is designed to stimulate worthwhile work experience either on-campus for the institution or off-campus with agencies involved in the Community Action Programs and other Economic Opportunity Act supported activities.

d. Upward Bound Program-- a pre-college program designed to motivate disadvantaged high school students to reach their academic potential and apply for college. A residential program, Upward Bound combines a 6-to-8 week intensive educational and counselling experience with an academic year follow-up to consolidate summer gains.

e. National Teacher Corps-- a program for teacher interns with supplementary teaching assignments and for work in home-school relations in areas where there are concentrations of disadvantaged students. The Teacher Corps teams are supervised by experienced teachers and continue their academic study at nearby institutions of higher education.

f. Full Utilization of Educational Talent-- a program designed to encourage high school or college dropouts to reenter educational programs and to encourage able disadvantaged youth to enter and remain in college.

g. New Careers Program-- a program for adults 22 years of age or older which provides work-training employment primarily in the fields of health, education, welfare, community development, and public safety. The program is designed to provide entry-level employment opportunities, improve prospects for advancement and continued employment, and create new career jobs in public service.

h. Manpower Development and Training Programs-- various programs provide occupational training for unemployed and under-employed persons, including disadvantaged youth between 16 and 22 years of age. Basic education and occupational training, either in vocational schools or on-the-job, are provided together with training allowances.

i. Aid for Public School Desegregation-- a program designed to aid schools and school personnel in dealing with problems which arise from school desegregation by providing technical assistance, grants to school boards, and grants to teacher training institutions.

In addition to these education-specific programs, urban schools are affected by a variety of other federally legislated activities dealing with health, community development, urban renewal, recreation, cultural facilities, transportation, regional planning and rehabilitation.

Allocation of Educational Resources-- It has been argued that "greater pupil needs, higher costs, municipal overburdens, and smaller resources to draw upon mean that the present system of financing schools places a city at a severe disadvantage relative to its suburbs." (Levin, 1970, p.68) Moreover, as Cohen has pointed out, "there is no simple identity between dollars allocated among school districts and the equality of resources delivered to their students." (Cohen, 1969, p. 123) Beyond the overall discrepancies in educational costs and available financial resources between city and suburb, it has been demonstrated that there are often sharp differences in the allocation of available resources to schools within a large city system with schools in ghetto areas being shortchanged. In recent years, through court litigation and pressures for new legislation, there have been attempts to correct such inequalities on intra-state and intra-district bases. (Silard and White, 1970) In some cases, the action has been brought to insure that categorical aid is spent where the act intended it to be-- e.g., ESEA Title I funds on disadvantaged populations-- and that it be added to, not substituted for, general aid. A very different approach has been tried by some school districts which establish projects with substantial additional funding in depressed area schools. New York City's More Effective Schools Program is an example of a limited number of ghetto schools receiving compensatory funds and resources enabling a drastic increase in staffing and an improved pupil-teacher ratio.

In the Decade Ahead

Almost every aspect of the educational process is being modified and adapted through projects, programs, and "innovations", each aimed at improving the quality of urban education and opening educational opportunities. Most of these efforts represent changes intended to increase the effectiveness in attaining the traditional educational objectives of public schools- at a minimum, the attainment of basic literacy. Few projects aim at fundamental reappraisal of urban education, propose major reforms, or suggest new goals or delivery ststems. Some programs could result in significant reform but, generally, schools have been responsive to immediate crises, to the availability of funds, or to pressure from groups.

The Washington, D.C. schools may represent a prototype for what America's central city schools have become. Since 1947, the District of Columbia Schools pupil population has changed from 46% Black to more than 93% Black. Scholastic achievement on standardized tests has fallen far below national means. A 1965 bulletin titled, Innovation in Education, included almost 100 separate programs and projects, each aimed at improving instruction. As funds became available through ESEA and other federal legislation in 1965 and the years following, the number of programs and projects increased further. Since 1967, the District Board of Education has been presented with four major documents, each containing recommendations, proposals, and plans for changing the school system or a part thereof. The so-called "Passow Report" (Toward Creating a Model Urban School System) resulted from a large-scale comprehensive study of all aspects of education and schooling in the District and contained scores of recommendations regarding the total school system and its functioning in the nation's capital community. (Passow,

1967) The Anacostia Community School Project proposal emerged from a month-long summer workshop and consisted of no fewer than 25 programs ranging from total community participation in school decision-making to updating equipment in the 10 schools in the area which contains about half of Washington's public housing. (Abacostia Community Planning Council, 1968) The Fort Lincoln New Town proposal represented a case study in the development of an educational program for a completely new town to be built on a 335-acre site in northeast Washington. (Fantini and Young, 1970) Finally, the so-called "Clark Report" (A Possible Reality) proposed focusing on the improvement of reading achievement through a Reading Mobilization Year with a Reading Mobilization Team in each school, and differentiated staffing and salaries based on teacher accountability. (Clark, 1970) These four reports exemplify a range of proposals for confronting the educational crisis in the schools in the nation's capital.

The HEW Urban Education Task Force urged "that the problem of urban areas should be considered as the major priority of the Administration's domestic program in the 1970's. Within this priority, education--broadly conceived and with new constituencies involved-- should become a first consideration." (HEW Urban Education Task Force, 1970, p.6) Recognizing a need for long-term comprehensive planning, the Task Force concluded that the urgency of the situation required proposals for immediate action as well. The report called for:

a. Money-- significantly increased levels of funding far exceeding current appropriations and authorizations from the federal government.

b. Concept of urban education-- expansion of the concept of the

educative process to deal with the whole individual, "his health, his emotional well-being, his intellectual capacities, his future employment, his self-realization...."

c. Master plan for urban education-- development and implementation of master plans for education, each tailored to particular urban areas, dealing with causes and symptoms "within a framework of over-all urban problem-solving rather than education per se...."

d. Insitutional changes-- deliberate sequencing of plans and steps leading to institutional changes, fundamental changes within the system itself.

e. Community determination-- active participation in decision-making by community residents and students, including priorities for using funds, designing curriculum and program components, and employing and evaluating personnel.

f. Performance standards-- clear statements of specific knowledges, attitudes and skills students are expected to demonstrate and which can serve for personnel and school accountability.

g. Assessment-- continuous assessment of all aspects of the educational program with regular feedback enabling immediate adjustments and modifications.

h. Racial and ethnic integration-- integration should be a major element for all planning; separatism, local control, and a demand for a recognized identity are viewed as alternate channels to the ultimate goal of integration. (pp. 6-7)

The major recommendation of the HEW Urban Education Task Force was for development of an Urban Education Act, "designed to fund the planning,

development, and implementation of a comprehensive master plan to meet the specific, long-range broadly conceived educational needs of inner-city areas." (p. 44) If enacted, such legislation would only set in motion preparation of guidelines and cirteria for potential grantees to develop their own local master plans. No model master plan for urban education is provided but rather the report calls attention to the need for comprehensive consideration of education in the urban setting instead of the present fragmented project approach which obtains.

What the crisis in urban education has done is to stimulate total rethinking about the educative process-- the goals, the means, the resources, the strategies, the relationships. The "tinkering approach" having proved less than adequate, the "do something, try harder" stance having failed, we may now be ready for more comprehensive reforms based on a sound base of research, theory and experience. We have already been reminded that education is taking place in settings other than the classroom and that much learning consists of behavior about which the school has given little consideration. As one looks at the dilemmas the nation faces, one must ask to what extent adequate and appropriate education is being provided any group or set of individuals, advantaged or disadvantaged, majority or minority. Reform in education, like reform in society of which the schools are a part, does not come easily for there are constant struggles for power and prerogatives among individuals, groups and agencies.

A master plan for urban education will necessarily deal with urban schooling in the broadest sense, with many components of the educative process at many different levels. There are not nor can there be panaceas in urban education; no single program or system or approach will resolve

the problems of urban schools. Poverty, discrimination, racism, and other problems of our society have very deep roots. Full and equal employment opportunities, sound housing, political power, safety and security, adequate health and sanitation, cultural satisfactions are part and parcel of the solution to urban educational problems just as they are, in part, a consequence of good education. The school represents one component in the educative process in the community. It cannot remain isolated from the other compnentns nor can it do the educative job alone. In some instances, the school may serve as the catalyst for other agencies to plan jointly their educative efforts; in other instances, the school has prime leadership responsibility.

There is no clear blueprint for urban education in the decade ahead but a considerable reservoir of experiences and research which, when combined with serious intent and fundamental commitment to build a better society for all, can provide the basis for more effective nurturing of human potential. What is needed now is a reassessment of the total educational process-- programs, personnel, facilities, resources, relationships, and delivery systems -- within the family, the community, and the school to ascertain where and how effective learning opportunities can be arranged. The entire community, not the location we now call "school", must become the site for education of future urban populations.

A decade ago, educators were pressed by events to drop their defensive stances and face up to their responsibilities for educating all Americans. Even then, the directions were well marked and the goals quite clear. Comprehensive planning for education rather than fragmented prop-sals for

schooling is needed if America's public schools are to fulfill their responsibility for helping to build a richer urban society in which all individuals can "do their thing".

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